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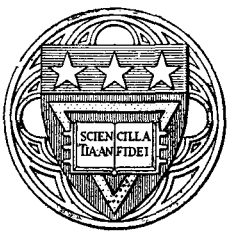

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THE COMMONWEAL
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THE
Commonweal
A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature, and the Arts
THIRTY-FIFTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

week by week

EYES ON THE PRESIDENCY

FOR MONTHS, would-be Presidential nominees have been jockeying for position, but until recently the public does not seem to have been paying too much attention. Now, after a long period of at least relative apathy, interest in the political scene is bursting out all over. Two main causes seem to be responsible for this renewed interest in things political.

The first is the calendar itself. It is as if at summer's end citizens all over the country realized simultaneously just how close we are to the end of President Eisenhower's final term in office. After all, the nominating conventions of the two major parties are only eleven months away, and fourteen months from now the nation will, for better or for worse, have elected a new President of the United States.

The second reason behind the renewed interest in things political is the emergence of what editorial writers have taken to calling "the new Ike." Political news is more interesting today than it was six months ago because Mr. Eisenhower, instead of relying on lieutenants, is himself playing a much more positive part. More than that, the President's conception of his own role seems to have undergone a substantial alteration. The old Eisenhower who insisted it was not his place to tell Congress what to do has been replaced by the new Ike who has taken to doing exactly that, and, even more importantly, has been doing it successfully.

Soon after the Democratic sweep in the last Congressional elections, Mr. Eisenhower began to carry his anti-inflation, balance-the-budget message to the people on every conceivable occasion. Aided by the business upturn, he has succeeded in winning total victory on almost every issue involving spending, and the Democratic high-command in Congress has had to bow to his wishes. Throughout this entire session of Congress, the President has exercised the veto and the threat of veto vigorously, and not one of his vetoes has yet been overridden.

AS FAR as domestic matters are concerned, this latter-day change in the Eisenhower pattern of behavior is not necessarily a change for the better. There seems to be no doubt that the new Ike is considerably more conservative than the old.

On housing legislation, for example, the new Ike takes a position considerably to the right of the late Senator Robert Taft. Similarly, in the matter of labor reform, the old Ike would have been expected either to refrain entirely from comment on this complex subject, about which Congress was currently deliberating, or, at most, to express some sentiment on behalf of the middle-of-the-road position with which Eisenhower Republicans in Congress could go along. Instead, Mr. Eisenhower delivered a nationwide television address on behalf of the "tough" measure which was generally thought to embody the views of the National Association of Manufacturers, and, what is more, he got what he wanted, at least in the House.

All this has not been accomplished without political blood-letting. Throughout this second term the connection between the President and the "modern" wing of the Republican party has been growing ever more tenuous; Mr. Eisenhower's strategy during this season of Congress has just about made his union with the Eisenhower Republicans one in name only, and his stand on domestic issues has almost certainly hurt the chances of Eisenhower Republicans up for re-election to Congress next year.

In the field of foreign relations, however, the new Ike may be improving G.O.P. chances. There is,

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first, his imminent trip to Europe to confer with our allies there. Then he will, after his return to the United States, carry out concentrated talks with Mr. Khrushchev, to be followed by his own trip to the U.S.S.R. and at least a certain amount of travel inside that country. All this would be taxing on a man much younger and healthier than Mr. Eisenhower, but these activities will certainly tend to keep the nation's attention focused on the Presidency as we approach the 1960 elections.

Among political commentators there has been considerable speculation about the reasons behind the emergence of the new Eisenhower. Some say Mr. Eisenhower has not really changed; it is just that he has been forced by the development of important issues to take news-making positions. Others insist there is a new Ike and attribute his existence to the departure of Sherman Adams and the death of Secretary of State Dulles; since the President now has to handle matters which he used to delegate to these two men, they say, it is only natural that he should be more in the public eye. Perhaps the most interesting theory of all, however, is that Mr. Eisenhower was recently persuaded —by his brother Milton, one published report has it—that he must in this last year of his term take vigorous action to change his public image or go down in history as a do-nothing President.

Whatever the accuracy of these theories, the new Ike is now committed to end his term in the Presidency with a dramatic venture into personal diplomacy—the kind of face-to-face encounter between heads of state he has previously decried. Mr. Eisenhower's meetings with Khrushchev certainly guarantee that his last days in office will have at least as much drama as did his first, when he fulfilled his campaign promise to go to Korea. And if the President's efforts to relax international tensions are successful, the world will rejoice, and, from the limited point of view of domestic politics, the chances of the G.O.P. nominee will be much improved. But Republican politicos must be holding their breath, for they know full well that this situation is not without its political hazards.

The Khrushchev-Eisenhower talks can capture the world's attention, but if they are not successful, there will be an awful let-down. Yet they can be successful only if the Russian leader wants them to be, and there is the rub. It is not too difficult for Mr. Eisenhower to project a public image of a new Ike. But how does one persuade Khrushchev to create a public image of a new Nikita, based on a radical change in Soviet foreign policy? Even for the new Ike, this will take some doing.

SCRUTINY OF OUR RESOURCES

ALTHOUGH the subject is not on the list of the "must" legislation scheduled for Congressional action in the final days of the present session, conservation of our national resources is again before the public. Since its early days the Eisenhower Administration has tended, in these matters, towards a hands-off policy. There have been protests on such matters as overgrazing on our public lands, the leasing of timberlands to private corporations and, on the negative side, a slackening-off on such programs as public power and river development projects. There is a basis for the charge of spinelessness on conservation recently voiced by the Democratic Advisory Council. But the Democratic majority in Congress also bears some responsibility for this neglect; and it has solidly supported the import controls set up to protect American oil and mining industries.

One of the moves now afoot is to make a new attempt to preserve that vast and imposing area which extends between the Rockies and the Pacific Coast from further harmful private exploitation by oil, lumber and other companies. A wilderness bill, which would mark out areas from which private development and exploitation would be henceforth excluded, has been introduced in Congress. A second bill (which has the support of the Administration) to protect "our vanishing shoreline," has been introduced by Senator Neuberger of Oregon and is based in part on a rather extensive survey of our Pacific Coast. Here the maintenance and expansion of our public recreational facilities is uppermost. Both approaches to the conservation question merit serious study since the nation's population and the needs of industry here and overseas are steadily growing. Conservation of our great natural resources is a recurring quest, but the increasing and projected pressures on the country's natural recreational facilities now imbues it with a new emphasis.

KHRUSHCHEV TO THE U.S.

AS PREMIER Nikita Khrushchev's visit to this country becomes increasingly imminent, the public response settles into a pattern of stable complexity. Before the visit was announced, predictions about the general reaction were necessarily hedged about with qualification. Even after the First Deputy Premiers, Anastas Mikoyan and Frol Kozlov, toured the country and Richard Nixon

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toured Russia, there was decided uncertainty about the reasons for and the consequences of a visit by Mr. Khrushchev.

Much of the uncertainty stems from an acknowledgement that a meeting between Mr. Khrushchev and President Eisenhower on these shores, whatever the stated purpose or the outcome, is a step down new and untried paths of diplomacy. It is true, of course, that the Russian leaders have in the past frequently shown disdain for accepted diplomatic procedures, and Mr. Khrushchev in particular has shown himself to be a free-wheeling innovator of procedures that have often nettled and sometimes seriously disconcerted the Western powers.

The only consistent characteristic of relations between the West and the Soviet, in fact, has been that of frustration. Hopes have intermittently been raised only to be dashed; conciliatory words have been almost immediately overshadowed by hostile Soviet actions; high-level meetings have been punctuated by the off-stage directions of Mr. Khrushchev himself. Against this background of frustrated diplomatic efforts it is not surprising that Americans are wary of the visit. While the majority of Americans, apparently, approve of President Eisenhower's decision to invite the Soviet Premier, their general attitude is not—as it was preceding the Geneva conference of 1955—hope tinged with skepticism, but rather the reverse, skepticism tinged with faint hope.

Those who reject the President's judgment in this matter have strong reasons at hand. They can point not only to the proclaimed Communist doctrine of world domination and the brutalities perpetrated under Stalin. They can recall, to those who might forget, the crushing of revolts in the satellite countries of Eastern Europe, the constant Communist probing actions in countries around the world and the fairly recent threats by Premier Khrushchev that Communism would bury the West. The opposition based on these facts has been developed, often with logic and passion, by private citizens, labor leaders, a few politicians, organizations of European refugees, some Protestant groups, leading Catholic spokesmen and most of the Catholic press.

What is there to oppose to such hard reasons? On what basis was the official invitation tendered to the leader of the Soviet? As Mr. Khrushchev himself said, there is no need to persuade him that the United States is a strong country. If it were not, he would clearly have his way in the world today. There is, however, the realistic and minimal hope that his tour will disabuse him of illusions he may nourish concerning the attitude of the American people, the allegiance they give to their political leaders, and the general standard of living which is theirs. He may also, it is hoped, be struck with the freedoms which Americans themselves take for granted until they are jeopardized. He may even come a little bit closer to appreciating "Americanism" for what it is rather than for what he would like it to be or for what he asserts it to be.

In thus exposing Mr. Khrushchev to America, we perform an official and, it is hoped, beneficial act. We need not, and presumably will not, give him the warm reception we would offer an honored guest. His visit affords another possibility to temper the cold war. It should be seen only in this light. One need not welcome Mr. Khrushchev to approve of his visit. Fortunately, this seems, at present, to be the temper of the American people. Although it might sound odd to Mr. Khrushchev's ears most Americans could say, in regard to the potential merits of his visit, "I'm from Missouri. Show me."

THREAT TO SOUTHEAST ASIA

IN YEARS PAST when the strategy of driving a wedge between Soviet Russia and Communist China was brought up, the idea was to induce the Chinese to come over to our side. Here and there a dissenting voice would suggest that the Russians would one day be our companions-at-arms against a common Chinese foe, but such a prediction was hardly directed toward the immediate future. With Communist China making such strides toward industrialization and functioning as the more belligerent of the two at the moment, the suggestion seems a shade less fanciful today.

For the present degree of hostility between the U.S. and China there are a number of reasons. It was Communist China against which the American-led U.N. forces fought the Korean War, and China has not yet released all its American prisoners; since 1953 China, in violation of the peace treaty, has been building up North Korean airbases and armed forces, and continues to call for a Korea united under Communist rule. Formosa, with its remnants of the China Nationalist regime, continues as a major source of contention between us. And Peking constantly charges the United States with "imperialism" and holds that a war is inevitable—in hard conformity with the brutal Stalinist line.

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In comparison, our contentions with the Soviet Union at present seem to be more general and global in scope—except for Berlin where matters are now in abeyance. Actually, Russian penetration of a gradual, steady sort even accelerates today in Latin America, the Middle East and the far-flung Afro-Asian world. The arms race rushes on. But the prospect for immediate fighting against Soviet forces does not loom so large as a possible engagement with the Chinese now does in the Far East.

The Communist drive in the strategic small kingdom of Laos, led by North Vietnamese, is already attaining alarming momentum. It seems doubtful that it was launched primarily to embarrass Mr. Khrushchev or to hamper the discussions with President Eisenhower. Ho Chi Minh himself is just back in North Viet Nam from an extended visit to both Moscow and Peking. Although certain differences in emphasis can be detected in official Russian and Chinese comments on the fighting, the campaign is proceeding on the basis of their agreement, however reluctant that may be on Russia's part. The Chinese can make their wishes felt, but they are still much too weak to challenge the Soviet Union for the hegemony of the Communist world.

If the chances for a split with Russia still seem remote, hostility toward Communist China in the Far East is growing. The bloody conquest of Tibet and the threats to neighboring Bhutan, Nepal and Sikkim have not only aroused political leaders in India but are creating anxiety throughout Southeast Asia. The drastic character of the Chinese communes has also aggravated fears of China there. Only this summer Burma has again contracted to accept American aid after an interval of several years; Ceylon is becoming more friendly toward the West; the government is holding the Communists in Indonesia in some check. An enlightened and expanded program on our part, good in itself in promoting human well-being and power centers capable of spirited self-defense, would only intensify the growing Asiatic disaffection for the Chinese Communists.

The temptation to gobble up the tiny principalities on its borders, one by one, must be immense for an aggressive Communist China conscious of its growing strength. Effective defense against foreign-led subversion in such lands as the distant Kingdom of Laos is difficult in the extreme, by SEATO or other forces. At this stage only a lively realization that a pursual of its present aggressive course will lead to its permanent alienation from India and the rest of uncommitted Asia may induce the Chinese juggernaut to hold back.

NEXT WEEK

EUGENE HAVAS writes about creeping inflation, its causes, consequences, and cure.

"Pursuing a disinflationary budgetary policy, the Administration has not been assisted by the concentrated industries like steel and automobiles which set the pattern for an inflationary trend in the economy. . . . Prices did not come down in 1958 when business was going through a healthy readjustment. On the contrary, prices were raised in the administered-price sector of steel and automobiles, even though industry operated at only fifty per cent of capacity. . . ."

STITCH IN TIME

AS MOST OF our readers probably realize, typographical errors are an inevitable hazard of life, and everyone connected with publishing has his own collection of stories about typos he has encountered. Some of them are funny, some annoying; all are calculated to keep managing editors awake at night. A choice one from our own collection did not involve us, happily, but a diocesan paper, in one week's issue of which a lecture by a former member of the Papal Guards was triumphantly rendered, in very large letters, "I Served the Dope."

Our problem, which antedates by some weeks the emergence of the new, decisive Ike, is not quite comparable, but it is embarrassing nonetheless. As editors of a journal of opinion, we are often critical of the current Administration on such questions as defense spending, balancing the budget and the like. In all this we try as best we can to make our discussion reasonable and impersonal. But for some reason—perhaps as a result of reading the transcripts of too many Presidential news conferences, suggests one of our more partisan editors—our typesetters lately persist in referring to the President as Mr. Eisenhowever. We keep correcting the error and hoping for the best, but we fear that sooner or later the President is going to be immortalized in our pages in this fashion. If that day does arrive, may we say right now that we are not guilty?

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The Christian and Politics

The true Christian cannot escape his obligation to cooperate in the transformation of the world

by GERARD DION

IN DISCUSSING the subject of the Christian and politics, it is necessary to begin by recalling certain essential points which are often forgotten, by Christians as well as non-Christians. The Church, as an institution, was not founded by Christ to exercise temporal power. The purpose of the Church of Christ is to bring men to heaven. She claims no direct jurisdiction over temporal matters; these are within the province of strictly temporal institutions.

The Church, therefore, is not a political party; she does not deal directly with politics. She is not bound to one system or to one regime. All of them she accepts, provided they respect the principles of Natural Law, avoid inroads on her own field and leave her the freedom of action necessary to perform her supernatural mission.

Because of her obligation to preserve the sacred truth and in virtue of her power to teach, the Church does have the duty of speaking out against errors and political systems which violate the rights of truth and the laws of ethics. The Church proclaims the moral principles which must guide the conscience of the faithful in every walk of life, and recalls the norms that the political order itself must respect so as to abide by the Message of Christ, and, in so doing, to facilitate its implementation. But Christians should not expect to find in these principles and norms concrete answers to all problems of social life. They have their own responsibilities in secular matters, and translating the principles of Christianity into all the activities of their lives is their obligation.

The Christian who is loyal to his Faith orders his behavior in relation to the hereafter. But this does not prevent him from being at the same time a man living on earth. Baptism does not introduce man into another universe; it leaves him in a world unfinished and capable of modification. Man was created by God to possess Him in love, in communion with Him, and this communion must begin on earth. Unless we live in communion with our fellow men, there is no communion with God. It is therefore necessary to toil increasingly and without delay to achieve this communion among men. And this Christian imperative not only supposes an effort to reconcile individuals but also demands the establishment of objective conditions which will facilitate this reconciliation.

We must, then, work to eliminate all factors of hatred and discord, all elements of division, everything that is opposed to love and justice between men. This is an obligation for all, because there is no Christian life without a striving for such an objective. The true Christian cannot escape his obligation to cooperate in the transformation of the world, in the effort to see the first rays of heavenly dawn shine on earth.

THE TASK of laymen in temporal matters, therefore, is to promote conditions favorable to Christian life, to build a Christian world. Much work undoubtedly remains to be done in all fields of activity, but that of politics is surely one of the most important because of the influence it exercises upon all the others. Moreover, in a country endowed with a democratic regime our fellow-citizens have every right to expect that Christians will put forth their best efforts for the common good. Whether he be a private citizen, a public servant, an active member of a political party, a scientist, an educator, or whatever, every Christian must participate according to his position and possibilities in the establishment of a political order consonant with the principles of the Gospel.

This participation in political life requires that the Christian make choices, commit himself, accept responsibilities and take risks. Because human concerns are necessarily contingent, possibilities that are not contrary to Christian principles are numerous. This

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is why there is freedom for choice; this is why we do not necessarily find mass enlistment of all Christians on only one side of a particular issue. But we should not be misled by this freedom. It does not authorize anyone to ignore the Commandments of God and the spirit of the Gospel nor to permit purely individual interests, prejudices or even traditions to guide his choice. Instead, there is for everyone a duty in conscience to look for institutions and platforms which better meet the demands of Faith.

If the Christian is free to choose, then, he always remains within himself subject to Christian principles. He must therefore be familiar with them and with their proper application.

Politics is at one and the same time a science, an art and, above all, a prudence. Science determines the object of society—the common good—and indicates the ways and means to achieve it. But action is carried out in the world of reality in which circumstances are forever changing. The general knowledge which constitutes politics as science is of little value to regulate behavior unless we add to it that knowledge of the particular which is part of the art of politics, and the habit of making a judicious choice between attitudes which is called prudence.

Ethics sets forth certain norms, indicating what is good and what is bad in the object, the means, or in the intention of the actor. Because politics is subject to ethics, which must regulate all private and public actions, some are inclined to believe that ethics covers everything, and they therefore indulge in what is called "moralism." Thus some Christians who are desirous of introducing Christian doctrine into political life expect from doctrine what it can not supply, tangible solutions to every particular problem. They behave, at least, as if they believe that knowledge of Christian doctrine exempts them from any need to know the practical realities of political mechanisms and techniques and somehow frees them from the demands of prudence.

THIS IS, of course, false moralism of the kind that leads some persons into judging public men, not according to political criteria, but only according to moral norms such as respectability, honesty, devotion to the Church, etc., etc. Obviously such facts must be considered, but of themselves the possession of piety and justice and holiness is not sufficient to make a man a good politician. This requires social prudence. As Péguy put it: "He who relies on prayer and the sacraments to excuse himself from working and acting, and, in time of war, to excuse himself from fighting, breaks with the very order of God and the more ancient Commandment."

Christians who indulge in false moralism in the political field are wrong in two ways. On the one hand, they are unjust to the doctrine from which they think they draw inspiration, because they only succeed in depreciating it before others. On the other hand, their incompetence in the field of politics renders their action useless and thus allows others not inspired by Christian principles to act freely on their own. Christians might well ask themselves if, in the final analysis, this false moralism is not one of the reasons so many others practice out-and-out Machiavelianism. Considered simply as a reaction against an approach which never produces results, the notion that in politics the end justifies the means is at least more understandable.

In addition to the false moralizers, there are too many citizens who show a complete lack of interest in politics—often enough the manifestation of a kind of selfishness which hides under the appearance of virtue. There are some who consider politics as something necessarily dirty and who want to protect themselves against contamination. And there are others who believe that political problems are so complex that only a few privileged minds may understand them and judge of them soundly; they "leave politics to the professionals."

Many others, sadly enough, do not commit themselves politically because religious authority has not given practical rules of procedure. They are, politically speaking, minors. They constantly try to bring religious authorities onto a ground which is not their own, and they expect everything from the Church. If priests are in this way tempted to fall into clericalism, it must be remembered that there is such a thing as a "clericalism of laymen" on the part of those who are afraid to take their own responsibilities and prefer to rely upon the clergy in all fields of activity.

Finally, because of the ever-increasing influence of the State in all spheres of life, and the fear of what they call "socialism," many are reluctant to participate in any way in public affairs. They consider the State an enemy, and all those dealing with it as conscious or unconscious contributors to an infamous plot intended to strangle them.

What are we to say of such attitudes? On many occasions Pope Pius XII warned against what he called "false spiritualism," which looks down on temporal matters in order not to contaminate itself and to devote itself more adequately to spiritual matters. Christians have no right to isolate themselves in this way. They cannot remain indifferent to political problems or to refuse to do their share as members of society. And while they participate in political life, their behavior must be animated by the Christian spirit.

TO IMPROVE their efficiency in action or the better to preserve essential values, Christians in some countries have deemed it advisable to organize political parties of professedly Christian inspiration. Even

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where this is the case, however, members of different Christian Confessions must avoid indulging in a "Ghetto" spirit which would make them citizens of a special category and hinder their cooperating with others in the attainment of the common good. On the contrary, the very principles of their Christianity oblige them to cooperate loyally and to be the "leaven in the dough," without any tendency either to domination or to giving way to an inferiority complex.

Politics is not without its own temptations. In a milieu where the population is predominantly Roman Catholic and where Catholicism is a social force, some Catholics are seduced by a great temptation, that of trying to use the Church for political purposes.

These people do not hesitate to parade as Catholics when this serves their purposes. They seldom miss the opportunity of praising the hierarchy and paying tribute to Catholic social principles and the role of the Church. But these references to Christian principles are frequently made to justify conduct which has nothing in common with them and, indeed, which is sometimes completely opposed to them. Their public veneration of Christian teaching is simply a handy means for them to win the support of credulous persons, and all too often they try to shield themselves under the cloak of religion when legitimately attacked by their opponents. Indeed, it would seem that to express views divergent from their own is enough to become suspect of heresy; to displace them from positions of public authority is considered by them as jeopardizing the very foundations of Christianity!

In short, instead of serving Christian principles these people use the Church as an instrument, making her a mere means for achieving their own ends. This is Pharisaism of the deepest dye, and it has always been denounced by the Popes. Nonetheless, as recently as 1957 the Bishops of Canada found it necessary to give warning against it, in these words: "It need hardly to be added that religion must not be used to bolster up any specific political ideology. Pope Leo XIII wrote: 'But to sully the Church by party strife, or to desire to make her an ally in overcoming opponents in such strife, would be the work of men who rashly abuse religion!' "

Morality in politics is essential, and it should be noted that political morality involves more than election-time practices. It goes without saying, of course, that no Christian can make use of systematic lies, deprive his fellow citizens of their right to vote, use intimidation of all sorts, or, above all, try to justify those practices by saying they are unavoidable customs during electoral periods. When such practices are commonly tolerated by the population one may question the degree and the quality of their Christianity in the political order. Beyond these things, however, Christians have a tremendous work to accomplish in the world on both the temporal and the spiritual levels in order to establish the Kingdom of Christ.

IF, as it is said in the Gospel, Christians do not belong to the world, they are nevertheless in the world and must respect its own finality and grasp their condition therein. The Gospel does not offer direct answers to such questions as the equitable distribution of oil among nations, or the settlement of disputes about local autonomy. But it does remain true that the ordering of our temporal world should anticipate the Kingdom of God.

Christian citizens are obliged to commit themselves in the face of those problems according to the light of the Gospel and the Natural Law. If they normally have no reluctance to act in matters concerning family, labor unions, and social life, why should they shy away from political affairs? Without political action, other forms of activity are often inadequate and fruitless. Not everybody, of course, is bound to enter active politics. But in a democracy a good citizen, and especially a Christian, cannot be an abstentionist. He must, at least, cast a judicious and enlightened vote; he must cooperate in the creation and the development of a healthy public opinion. And, in his judgment and in his actions, the Christian must avoid two great errors. The first is to consider politics as being non-moral; the second is to be satisfied with non-political moral rules as criteria.

Without putting the fire of their Faith into a defense of secular attitudes which they consider inspired by their Faith, Christians should stand before their fellow citizens as champions of truth and freedom, filled with the spirit that seeks to safeguard human values and to realize a great brotherhood in justice and charity. In a speech delivered at the Canadian Social Week in 1956, Cardinal Léger expressed this idea perfectly when he said: "May Christians not give signs of timidity in the search of a new order of things! Enlightened by their doctrines, guided by the Church, the guardian of principles, may they boldly assume the risk of novelty. . . ."

We must look around and realize what is going on in a world that is increasingly dominated by techniques and material forces. Christians must work for its reform and reorganization along more just and human lines. At the same time, in the eternal paradox, Christians must not allow their zeal for the task to absorb them so entirely as to make them forget that all renovation has to originate in the conscience, that prayer, penance and the sacraments are the indispensables which never lose their efficacy. And as the Christian goes about his work in the world, he must always recall the ever-timely warning, "Not everyone who says to me, 'Lord! Lord!' shall enter the kingdom of heaven, but he who does the will of My Father. . . ."

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HANDS ACROSS THE CARIBBEAN

THE MOST important foreign visitor in Havana on July 26th, the anniversary when Castro celebrated his revolutionary power amidst the machetes of the countrymen, was Lázaro Cárdenas, president of Mexico from 1934 to 1940. Both Cubans and Mexicans took the occasion to insist that their revolutions are intimately linked. The first link, which Cárdenas, the unknowable *"hombre de Jiquilipan,"* personifies to an excessive, frustrating degree, is mystery.

The dynamism and ruthlessness which create a genuine revolution cannot quickly be gauged, and their cause is beyond the analysis of social scientists. The irrational dynamism of revolutions is the great reason for their wide and indiscriminate attraction. The crust of custom is broken, and men act. How powerful and complex a psychological wave lifts up those men near and far who face with the tide! Mysteriously, even little countries like Cuba, materially helpless among its neighbors, can be great with the immaterial power of their revolution. This dynamism is destructive. When a revolutionary regime passes on from destroying the institutions and cast of mind which are present to the creative work of building again for the future, then the revolutionary period is over.

The very word, revolution, has deceptive connotations of suddenness, but the fact is seldom quick. Castro was celebrating the sixth year of his movement, and six months of dictatorial power. Mexican revolutionists have attempted to "institutionalize" their position to maintain a permanent impermanency with no concluding goals or purposes, but with a continual threat to whatever social and personal forms and realities may exist. They call themselves, paradoxically, the Party of Revolutionary Institutions. Cárdenas more than any man living, embodies and personalizes these vague principles and policies of permanent revolution. And Fidel Castro Ruz "has affirmed that the Mexican Revolution constitutes an open book from which American revolutionaries of the most recent time ought to gather practical knowledge to employ for the benefit of their peoples."

Agrarian reform is the present definite link between the Cuban and Mexican revolutions, and this, also, is ominous for Cuba's future. More than half a million braceros contracted across the border every year from Mexico are a clear enough symbol of failure. The lies and misrepresentations upon which Mexican land reform has been based for more than an entire chaotic century have been sufficiently analyzed by critics such as the late Bishop Francis C. Kelley, the American hierarchy's expert in Mexican affairs through the regime of Calles.

At the same time, agrarian reform is the principal hope of the Cuban Revolution, and the most justified focus of sympathetic foreign interest. But the Castro plans so far announced are an almost pure fantasy. They embrace a contradiction between the demands of a welfare, money economy, either capitalist or socialist, and the requirements of a distributist economy, with men and families working their own acres for the direct return from their own property. Either deliberately or through incredible irresponsibility, the presently published plans assure trials and conflicts and crises. The revolutionary government is practically guaranteed a necessary, predominant rôle, not merely as tutor and aid, but as rescuer and perpetual re-organizer and manager.

The Cubans embrace Cárdenas and the Mexican precedent, but at the same time assert a diametrically different attitude toward Christianity and the Catholic Church. The inherited situation of the Church in Cuba does, fortunately, appear to be radically different than in Mexico. Cárdenas was accompanied to Havana by his son. The name of his son is Cuauhtémoc, which was the name of the final pagan Aztec emperor. In Cuba there is no racial or historical basis for a neolithic pagan cult of Indianism. The Church in Cuba, with its charitable and educational works, has no endowments in land given by the people or granted by the government, as it had (actually in modest measure) in Mexico when the revolution developed.

The bishops of Cuba, and other Catholics in leading positions, continue to express support for the Revolution, and specifically for agrarian reform. Let us hope it is not only a wistfulness. The Cuban bishops have set forward eleven principles to serve as standards in the evolution of agrarian reform which it may be possible still for the Cuban revolutionists to honor. However unlikely that seems abroad, they say, "we ought to rejoice as Catholics that there may be agrarian reform and we ought to pray that God may enlighten those who have to bring it to fruition, so that its essential end may be realized, which is to achieve for our farm people a more decent life, offering them cheerfully that bread with liberty which Doctor Castro has talked about so often in his discourses."

For this, it would seem, a period of building must be undertaken. Castro's many-layered rhetoric must be clarified. Despite Lázaro Cárdenas, a successful revolution is a concluded revolution. And despite its enemies, the Church is sponsor for the justice and peace which, with good will, can be taken even from a revolution's dark, destructive dynamism.

PHILIP BURNHAM.

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The spirit of Voltaire
is still abroad in the land

Religion among French Youth

by ROBERT BARRAT

LAST APRIL in these pages I described a large-scale public opinion poll conducted among French youth by *l'Express*. Answers in that survey indicated that many in this generation no longer shared the patriotic sentiments of their elders and were quite unwilling to sacrifice themselves for beliefs no longer held. In this fact many observers saw a real danger that French youth might be susceptible to future fascist or totalitarian adventures.

But one important aspect was completely lacking in this inquiry: the religious attitudes of French youth. In their answers some young people did allude to their commitment as Christians in the world. But the questionnaire itself left aside the whole problem of the attitude of people under thirty toward God, the Church or a religious conception of the world. Since then, therefore, another weekly, *La Vie Catholique Illustrée,* has undertaken a complementary inquiry among fifteen hundred young Frenchmen through the Institute of Public Opinion; thirty-five hundred more replied to the questionnaire distributed by *La Vie Catholique.*

From the results of this latest poll, it is clear that in one sense, at least, France continues to be a Christian country—one might even say a country that is almost exclusively Catholic. Of the people questioned, ninety-six per cent practiced a religion during their childhood, one per cent of them being Jews, four per cent Protestants, and ninety-one per cent Catholics. About eight out of ten of these young people had made their First Holy Communion. At present seventy-six per cent of them said they were Catholics, six per cent that they belonged to some other religion, and eighteen per cent that they no longer had any religion.

Two striking conclusions emerge immediately. First, nine out of ten French children are brought up in such a way that they receive the precepts of the Gospel from their family environment. Secondly, the younger generation, like its elders, has suffered dechristianization on reaching adulthood.

This ancient country remains quite skeptical and Voltairean. The attitude that religion is something for children, women and old men still persists. In many families, the questionnaire disclosed, the First Holy Communion is the moment at which most children definitively abandon the practice of religion.

Among those persons who give up the practice of their religion, an attachment does remain for certain principles and for certain traditions, among them religious marriage, education for children and religious burial. But the idea that religion is a vital and personal relationship between man and God often yields to the much more pragmatic view that it means simply a certain limited morality or a social code.

WHEN men with these views agree on the need for religion, as they often do, they do not mean that they should love God, pray to Him and in essence consecrate their lives to the worship of God, but rather that men should respect, at least formally, certain ethical principles: not to kill save in time of war; not to steal from one's neighbor except within the limits authorized by law; not to commit adultery when it would cause scandal, etc., etc.

It is hardly surprising, then, that of the seventy-six per cent of the young people who grow up in such an atmosphere only thirty-four per cent regularly, or occasionally, go to church. Since this latter percentage among youth tallies almost exactly with the incidence of religious practice among French people the world over, it can be deduced that the general movement of progressive dechristianization, which began in the eighteenth century, is at least not getting worse. However, there is little indication—in these figures, at any rate—of the religious awakening anticipated from the revival of the missionary spirit and the creation of Catholic Action thirty years ago.

Other facts revealed in the poll are no more promising. In the Parisian region nineteen per cent of the young people are practicing Catholics, another nineteen per cent are resolutely atheistic, and the remainder are indifferent. In small rural villages, however, only ten per cent declare that they are atheists, while forty per cent practice their religion. Therefore, if the shift of population to the cities continues, such statistics show the problem of the evangelizing of the masses in an alarming light.

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The findings of the poll clearly seem to confirm the experience of the *Mission Ouvrière,* headed by Cardinal Feltin of Paris, which has just adopted a report for submission to Rome, stressing the necessity of new forms of the apostolate designed to shake the unbelief of the masses, including the presence of priests working full time in their midst.

IN CONSIDERING the results of this poll on religion, it must be noted that a certain saving lack of logic is characteristic of French youth. Thus although two-thirds of them have abandoned the practice of their religion, seven out of eight declare that they were married or will marry in church. More than three-quarters of them say they are giving, or will give, a religious education to their children. And if this seems wildly illogical, remember too that French youth comes by its lack of logic honestly enough, judging by those of us who are older.

This is, I think, essentially an unsure generation, standing uncertain before the mystery of its destiny. And yet, paradoxically enough, those conducting the inquiry note an almost universal lack of metaphysical perspective on the part of those questioned.

Judging by the answers received, we are far, certainly, from the quarrels of the turn of the century which divided the adherents of a "scientific" spirit and those animated by the spirit of faith. Those who perceive an opposition between science and religion are few (fourteen per cent). But the most noteworthy point here is that such basic theoretical problems seem to leave these young people completely cold. Only the technical and utilitarian applications of science hold their attention.

This same indifferentism, or the same absence of deep reflection, is manifest in the matter of religious attitudes in general. Attachment to material realities and concern for the problems of getting along and finding one's place in life predominate.

With the exception of a minority who seek in the Bible or the teachings of the Church nourishment for spiritual life and well-grounded faith, nearly all adhere to beliefs which are vague and undeveloped. French young people who believe in Christ as the Son of God numbered only sixty-two per cent; in a hereafter, fifty-five per cent; in the Trinity, fifty-one per cent; in Original Sin, forty-nine per cent; in Heaven, Purgatory and Hell, thirty-eight per cent; in the resurrection of the body, thirty-two per cent.

Even among "practicing Catholics," only half believe in the existence of heaven. Among the non-practicing, forty-one per cent do not believe that Christ is the Son of God. Given such answers, one is forced to wonder how much Catholicism remains.

THESE were some of the major findings of the poll. Can there be, then, only negative and pessimistic comments on the religious attitude of French youth? Must it be said that this generation is much more lukewarm than that which produced the Maritains, Paul Claudel, François Mauriac and Georges Bernanos? I am convinced that such conclusions would be in error, for no purely statistical inquiry can reflect certain important facts about religion in France, facts which can only be obtained by observation over the years.

I am struck, for instance, with the fact that the intellectual circles in which my countrymen under thirty move are much more open to spiritual realities than such circles were twenty-five years ago. The atmosphere of religious tolerance now characteristic of the university world permits believers to give scope to their faith more freely, and this is important. It is, I think, very significant that each year the pilgrimage to Chartres brings together an ever greater number of students; it is now necessary to celebrate two Masses there on Pentecost Monday because the immense nave of the Cathedral is too small to hold all the pilgrims at once. Among at least some of those who will comprise the leadership in France ten years from now there is a profound spiritual renewal underway, and this fact augurs well for the future of the country.

Moreover, the spirit of the boys and girls who have embraced the priestly or religious life in the last fifteen years is extraordinary. Whether they are young parish priests, Little Brothers of Foucauld, Jesuit, Dominican or Franciscan novices—and the same thing would be true of the Orders of Sisters—the impression is inescapable that here are persons who have been liberated from the old complexes of fear about the modern world. They understand that ours is a world in transition and that it must be approached with the same missionary spirit by which they themselves have been transformed. This fact is not reflected in the public opinion poll, but its importance is incalculable.

Finally, there are even certain aspects of the inquiry itself which do indicate some progress. Over three-fifths of our French young people, for example, no longer consider religion to be opposed to social progress. In view of the importance of the social question, this is significant.

All in all, though, it must be said in the end that generalizations about this poll are risky. For my part, I doubt that French youth as a whole are either much better or much worse today than they were in 1940 or 1920. Rather, this generation simply seems to be more unattached, less committed, both spiritually and politically.

What of the future? I know no better way of concluding than by quoting Georges Hourdin, director of *La Vie Catholique*: "This generation is in a state of waiting. I devoutly hope that it will not be disillusioned on the religious level as it was so greatly on the political level."

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"The personality of the tyrant would seem to be important"

Post-Stalin Soviet Culture

by FRANCIS B. RANDALL

IN STALIN'S last mad years, there was little disagreement among American scholars about the nature of his tyranny, or how he had built it up. Russia was a land of many secrets, but few enigmas. No substantial change was expected while the dictator lived, but the question of how Communism might evolve afterwards was overwhelming.

From the night of Stalin's death, one school maintained a pessimistic position: Lenin and Stalin had constructed in the Communist Party a power machine more rigidly organized than any other such institution in history and had built into it mechanisms of terror that blocked all possibility of escape by a subject population. Even more important, according to this school, they had provided an ideological mechanism for maintaining permanent continuity of outlook, methods, and goals on the part of the Party élites.

The other school was and is more optimistic. The Party machine is indeed formidable, in this opposing view, but since it was confected by Lenin and Stalin, Russian society has undergone an industrial revolution, the most profound transformation possible to a human society since the invention of agriculture. In 1917 only fifteen per cent of the Russians lived in cities; by 1955 something over forty per cent of Russia was urban. Inevitably, according to this theory, a major consequence of such industrialization will be the sapping and ultimate destruction of a political system formed in preindustrial Russia. As Marxists and many ex-Marxists put it, such a revolution in the economic base of any society will inexorably produce a revolution in the political and ideological superstructure. Communism in Russia may evolve or break down in any number of ways, but it will not long remain the thing that Stalin left it.

Such were the lines drawn—doubtless in little groups all over the Western world—the night Stalin died. Ever since, Russian expertise in America has consisted largely of reading the New York *Times* and documentary materials as they become available, and of testing these two theories against the evidence.

Naturally, no final decision has emerged. There have been many changes in Russia, but have they been major changes? What are the essentials of Communism such that, if they are seen to change, we could agree that Communism itself has changed?

In a tyranny, the personality of the tyrant would seem to be important, and one would have to distinguish the two years of Malenkov from the four years and more of Khrushchev. Wherever Malenkov might have taken Communism, the process was cut short. But what consistent pattern can be discerned in the years under Khrushchev? The year 1955 combined a hard, repressive, heavy industrial policy at home (in Communist terms, a "left strategy") with ambiguous maneuvers abroad, such as the "Geneva spirit." The following year, the worst year for Communism since Hitler's invasion, saw the Party rocked by a series of blows from Khrushchev's "secret speech" to Poland and Hungary, and in 1957 Khrushchev almost reaped the results of his follies as he was staggered by a series of attempts to overthrow him. All failed, and since then we have seen the consolidation of his power and his resumption of a forward, "left" strategy, especially in foreign affairs.

IN CONSIDERING the question of whether Communism has changed, the optimists can point to an impressive accumulation of reforms and reorganizations within Russia, to say nothing of Poland. The pessimists can note that while Russian society in the 1950's is very different from Russian society in the 1920's, the methods and the outcome of the top-level Party struggle are remarkably alike, the emergence through fraud and force of a new dictator who forthwith plunges into a new forward movement of Communism. For both schools, the years 1956 and 1957 are crucial. The twenty months between the Twentieth Communist Party Congress in February, 1956 and the abrupt dismissal of Zhukov in September, 1957 brought the worst internal strains in modern Communist history. If Communism has evolved, the greatest changes occurred then.

It is therefore particularly significant that a volume of intelligent essays written during that key period has now been collected (*The Soviet Cultural Scene*, 1956-

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1957. Walter Z. Laquer and George Lichtheim, eds. Praeger. $3.75). These essays were originally published in *Soviet Survey,* one of the best and most recent learned journals that analyze Communist affairs. The journal is sponsored by the Congress for Cultural Freedom, an organization of grim cold warriors, and edited chiefly in London by Walter Z. Laquer, the world's leading expert on Communism in the Middle East, and George Lichtheim, author of *Pattern of World Conflict.*

One is therefore not surprised to find that the weight of these essays is on the side of the pessimists. It is now cheaply easy to quote Khrushchev on Berlin and say, it's Stalin all over again. But the wheel may turn once more. It is more profitable to look at the careful observations and sober skepticism of the scholars who wrote for *Soviet Survey* in those wild days when no one knew for sure whether this year's Budapest might not be next year's Moscow.

Soviet Survey's special sphere is contemporary Russian and East European culture, a term broadly defined to include all branches of learning as well as the arts. From the documents in such fields, rather than from more openly political pronouncements, the scholar can detect what was really happening in the Party and among the people during the prolonged crisis of Communism.

In one essay, for instance, the editors analyzed an 885-page textbook on European literature from 1871 to 1919, published in Moscow during the tumultuous year 1956. The "unimpeachable orthodoxy" of the work is noted; "every chapter opens with a review of the economic conditions in the area under inspection, and closes with appropriate quotations from Lenin, Stalin, and the leaders of the respective Communist Parties concerned." Over one third of the book is devoted to the literature of the lands that were to become the East European satellites. "The combined chapters on Bulgarian and Rumanian literature exceed in length those devoted to England and America." Jack London and Frank Norris are granted twenty pages of discussion each. Henry James: twelve lines. Galsworthy and Hardy get twenty-five pages each. Gide and Proust: six to eight lines each. Dreiser was the greatest American writer of the century. "Rimbaud's poetry destroys itself, takes leave of reason, borders on gibberish." Yeats is given five lines.

This is, of course, perfectly standard, the sort of thing normally published throughout the last half of Stalin's reign. But it was not published under Stalin; it was published after Khrushchev's anti-Stalin speech. To be sure, any 885-page book must have been in preparation for several years, perhaps even before the death of Stalin. To be sure, a textbook on European literature would not be the first place in which revolutionary changes might appear. But the Party surely had not transformed itself in any very major way if it permitted this book to be published as planned. Thus the editors of *Soviet Survey,* even in 1956, were able to adduce a small but irreducible piece of evidence for the continuity of the Communist system.

IN ANOTHER essay, L. Labedz discusses the Communist attitude toward sociology. "There is no Soviet counterpart of Western sociology." The Russian academic discipline that comes closest to the field is ethnography; Stalin had allowed some ethnographers to return from the study of Siberian tribes to investigate "the decisive transformation of the *kolkhoz* village." "There is no empirical research. Sociological field work . . . is neither known nor applied to any sphere." The government had supplied almost no meaningful series of basic statistics since the 1930's, and had theoretical reasons why these should not be sought. Here 1956 did bring a change, a thin statistical yearbook, the first in twenty years, which disclosed that world estimates of the Russian population were too high by twenty millions!

Knowledge of foreign scholarship did not fill the sociological gap. American "ethnographers" were denounced as supporters of the Ku Klux Klan in the pay of Wall Street. But the dethroning of Stalin had some discernible effect. Dissertations on such topics as "J. V. Stalin on historical peculiarities in the formation of Russian national character" gave way to more neutral Communist theses such as "Intensification of the impoverishment of the British working class after the second world war."

Here was some change, indeed. Laughable, perhaps, but for those Russians who were in the field, or rather, for those few who were trying to make the field possible, even this tiny liberalization could not have seemed trivial. And where does this leave the question of whether the Communists have changed?

In still another essay, Walter Kolarz examines recent Russian writings on religion, writings with such titles as "The Origin and Class Essence of Christianity." Christianity "even at the dawn of its history diverted the popular masses from any effective struggle for liberation." The Gospels are not considered evidence, since they are attributed to the middle of the second century. The letters of St. Paul are unauthentic, but are noted for their "social conservatism." The Revelation of St. John, on the other hand, was "full of the spirit of sound and honest revenge," but it, too, failed to stress "the necessity of violent action."

As for the writings on contemporary religion, during these two years of crisis they did not contribute to any severe anti-religious campaign. The milder side of Lenin's theory of religion was stressed: the churches are not major class enemies, but minor servants thereof; after a revolution, they can be counted on to crumble under the impact of education and socialist progress,

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without any violent pushes from the state. The perennial anti-Catholic campaign was toned down considerably after Gomulka's steps toward reconciliation with the Church in Poland made the issue politically delicate even in Russia. The Russian Orthodox hierarchy continued to be commended for its role in stirring the masses to a patriotic defense of Russia during World War II, but there were warnings that socialist society had now progressed so far that it could henceforth dispense with any such aid to popular patriotism. The Anglicans were as usual considered international tools of British bourgeois colonialist robbery. Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, etc., must go.

All of this represents a slight shift to the milder part of the limited range of Communist responses to religion, a minor liberalization since Stalin. Khrushchev has been willing to go even farther for the sake of tactical gain. During this period, a volume of the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* appeared with an article on Gandhi, sneering at his religious views and denouncing his non-violence as an aid to the British in hanging on to India for another generation. This proved embarrassing to the Indian Communists, so other Russian writers suddenly published their discovery of the socially progressive nature of Gandhi's career. And so forth.

The conclusion one must draw from all this is that during the crises of Communism in 1956 and 1957, the system had by no means evolved as far as one might have thought by reading only the headlines. Indeed, it should be obvious that this writer inclines to the pessimistic interpretation of Communist development. But this is not the point. The evidence presented merely in these three essays, or even in this whole volume, cannot in itself settle the issue of Communism's change or continuity. But it is of fundamental importance.

The scholars who wrote for *Soviet Survey* in the hectic days of 1956 and 1957 kept their heads and pursued what is, after all, the more reliable method. The zigzags of Communist policy can be turned on and off at will to deceive and to subvert, but the minutiae of Communist life and culture can be counted on to display a consistency that will betray the whole. Khrushchev can withdraw from Austria and make a settlement over Berlin, and Communism nonetheless need not have changed. But if and when our scholars report that the Communists are giving Yeats his due, and are considering the Gospels objectively, then we shall know, beyond any doubt, that the Communist system has changed indeed.

"Here and There"

John Cogley is now in Europe. His regular weekly column, "Here and There," will be resumed very shortly.

THE SCREEN

HOME WAS NEVER LIKE THIS

WHAT WITH foreign films and Hollywood movies made abroad, the moviegoer these days can travel far and wide and still sit in his air-conditioned theater. A clutch of new pictures, though some are of no great shakes, do one thing rather well: they take the viewer on a quick and occasionally revealing tour of Europe.

Starting in Vienna, the German-Italian co-production "For the First Time" shows an American tenor (Mario Lanza) singing to a group of fans outside instead of inside the famous opera house. This gets Mario into trouble, so he has to escape the Press, and, turning down Zsa Zsa Gabor's invitation to her villa in Venice, he goes to Capri, a very beautiful place indeed. Although the pretty Zsa Zsa soon turns up, the temperamental singer finds himself intrigued by a very attractive German girl (Johanna Von Koszian) who, much to his surprise, pays him no heed because, as it turns out, she is deaf. When the girl and the singer do become more than a little interested in each other, however, he decides to take her along on his next tour and have her examined by the best ear specialists in Europe's leading cities. The plot in these proceedings is thin, but Director Rudy Mate has handled his cast well, and the whole thing has a light touch and appealing charm. In good voice and generous with his songs, Lanza comes through with arias from several operas as well as some more modern numbers including the Jamaican rock-and-roll "Pineapple Picker." The picture's chief virtues, however, are the color shots of Europe, especially Capri.

MOVIEGOERS who would like to linger a little longer in Italy may very well find the Italian film, "The Tailor's Maid," good reason for dallying. In spite of its silly title, this is a delightful comedy about parents and their offspring. Vittorio De Sica plays a widower who likes to ogle the girls but is surprised to find his pretty teenage daughter (Lorella De Luca) falling in love with a boy from her school. The boy's father is furious—until he and De Sica put their heads together and make some sense. In the meantime, another couple with five youngsters have to board out one of their little boys with his childless, incompatible aunt and uncle. Although Director Mario Monicelli is slow at first in combining the affairs of these four families, he finally gets around to making his points with winning effect. The entire cast, including the cute tyke who stays with his aunt and uncle, is fine, and the picture, without going in for grandeur, captures the feel and sights of middle-class Rome.

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FOR SOME elegant views of Spain, there's "It Started with a Kiss," a Hollywood comedy that has Debbie Reynolds, as a young bride, following her husband, Glenn Ford as a master sergeant, to an Air Base on the Iberian Peninsula. The plot, which has to do with the wife's refusing to sleep with her husband because she's trying to prove that marriage is more than physical attraction, is pretty silly; it's made even sillier by a lot of *doubles entendres* that aren't half as funny as the scriptwriter thinks. Although the wisecracks are feeble, the visuals are not—thanks to the good-looking cast, which also includes Eva Gabor and Gustavo Rojo (as a bullfighter who covets Glenn's wife and his Lincoln Futura, both of which Glenn won at a charity bazaar), and thanks to the trips which Glenn and Debbie take in this handsome car. Barcelona, Segovia, Seville, Granada, Madrid never looked lovelier than they do in Metrocolor and CinemaScope with this stunning red Futura speeding along their roads.

NO DOUBT the most international film of this week's travel folder is "Lady Chatterley's Lover," a Gallic version of D. H. Lawrence's English novel that even brought forth a United States Supreme Court decision. As a movie, it is a pretty stodgy and old-fashioned affair, with Leo Genn hamming it up as an upper-class, mean-spirited Englishman who is crippled, impotent and wants his wife to have a child by another man; Danielle Darrieux as the devoted wife who is shocked by his request and then changes completely when she is won by the gamekeeper; and handsome, muscular Erno Crisa as the lover who has his own ideas about sex and a certain dignity but is certainly not the man snobbish Sir Clifford wanted for the father of his wife's child. Although the film changes the role of Lady Chatterley considerably and omits Lawrence's detailed descriptions of the goings-on in the gamekeeper's cottage, it is still pretty casual about adultery and by no means worthy of the large amount of discussion it provoked. In fact, it is not even noteworthy as a picture of English character or locale.

FOR A MORE accurate though one-sided view of the English, there's "Look Back in Anger," based on John Osborne's play. Although I'm still not sure after seeing this expertly-made, unpleasant movie just what the angry young men are aiming at, I do know what they're against. Unhappy, insulting Jimmy Porter is definitely against the social order, economics and existing morality of a world he never made. And he certainly is vocal about it, giving his wife and practically everyone else a difficult time. Richard Burton is somewhat old to be playing Jimmy, but his performance is impeccable, and under the excellent direction of Tony Richardson the other portrayals are first-rate too: Mary Ure as Jimmy's patient, long-suffering wife, Claire Bloom as her friend who moves in when the wife moves out, Gary Raymond as the likable chum of this self-centered Jimmy, Edith Evans as the old cockney woman who is Jimmy's good friend. One may not enjoy "Look Back in Anger" with all its painful realism, but one has to admire it for Harry Saltzman's production, Richardson's direction and Oswald Morris' photography of the northern English city where anyone would have the right to look back in anger at the grime and chicanery and unwholesome atmosphere.

ANOTHER ENGLISH film, this one full of suspense, is "The Man Upstairs," in which Richard Attenborough plays the title role, a scientist who's on the verge of a breakdown. Although he is the catalyst, the other characters are of greater importance, and the film asks what will they do about him when he goes berserk, pushes a policeman over a railing and, from his upstairs room, holds the entire house at bay with a gun. The police inspector (Bernard Lee) is all for rushing in and taking the man by force. The mental welfare worker (Donald Houston) insists on talking to the man, coaxing him to come out and accept treatment. The other tenants argue endlessly and in their arguments reveal themselves and their attitudes toward helping a neighbor and their questioning "Who is my neighbor?" The picture is fascinating, and the good cast, which also includes Dorothy Alison as a young mother, respond beautifully to the direction of Don Chaffey. "The Man Upstairs" uses no background music or fade-outs or dissolves, and it has a running time that is actually the same as the events portrayed. This cross-section of English people in and around a made-over Victorian house is more than a thriller; it is a cross-section of people when their best and worst are exposed.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

COMMUNICATIONS

THE STEEL STRIKE

Dubuque, Ia.

TO THE EDITORS: The editorial comments appearing in recent issues of The Commonweal on the current steel negotiations have brought up a vital issue that most decidedly needs continued examination and clarification through public debate. That the "public interest" needs, by some method, more adequate representation, not only at the bargaining table in the steel dispute but in all major sectors of the economy, is an issue which can be dismissed only at the greatest peril to the peaceful evolution of our economic system.

As the editors so effectively pointed out in refuting

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the thesis of Mr. Philip Burnham, to say that the "public interest" should be represented by "the individual's free choice in the competitive market" is to take several steps backward into the naive jungle of *laissez faire*. To expect that such a vast and complex entity as the "public interest" can be satisfactorily represented by the competitive market is to place a Herculean burden upon the fickle and unstable factors of supply, demand and administered prices. It seems to this reader that, so far as the steel controversy is concerned, until information withheld by the industry is made accessible, the "public interest" will remain a pure generality, totally unsoiled by the earthy factors of the moment.

The current negotiations have been greatly clouded by the question of the relationship of wages to productivity. Certainly no one can dispute industry's claim that the cost of labor must be kept in line with productivity. But who has an accurate knowledge of productivity except industry itself?

The confusion arising from this lack of information is brought out by the fact that President Eisenhower stated at a recent news conference that this year's first quarter steel profits for U.S.S. were well below last year's while a Washington newspaper reported that many investment circles contend the company understated earnings in preparation for the current wage negotiations.

Who is the public to believe? What is the man on the street to think? How can it be assumed that the dispute will be equitably negotiated under these circumstances? The refusal to release verifiable statistics on productivity and profits makes it difficult, if not impossible, to envisage industry as bargaining in good faith.

Certainly this is an area in which Congressional action would be most beneficial. If the Congress can demand detailed financial reporting from labor, which is a distinct possibility, then there is little reason why it cannot demand productivity and profit reports from the steel industry.

Here is an urgent area in which the "public interest" needs effective representation; and it most assuredly will not come from "the individual's free choice in the competitive market."

JOHN J. LONSBURY.

"BACKWARD, TURN BACKWARD"

Brooklyn, N. Y.

TO THE EDITORS: Your editorial comment on the change-over at the University of Chicago ["Backward, Turn Backward," June 5] provoked these reflections of my own.

A Dean of a college upon taking office usually searches his mind for something laudatory to say about his employer. If conviction fails him in that effort, he deplores the state of higher education. It is a rare Dean who uses that occasion to deprecate two decades of achievement as a species of educational goldfish eating, and at the same time contrives to insult an entire generation of alumni. Such is the case, however, with Alan Simpson, the new Dean of the College of the University of Chicago.

A University becomes known for many things. Some of them are consequential, but many are silly and irrelevant. Moreover, the silly and irrelevant tend to drive out the consequential, leaving behind a caricature. Thus state universities become stereotyped as social and athletic clubs; the Ivy League as a group of schools for rich men's sons bound together by a weary accent and the cut of their clothes; the University of Chicago of the thirties and forties—as a recent issue of *Time* magazine puts it—as "a boot camp for pre-beatniks."

There are two ways in which a college administrator can deal with a stereotype. One is to ignore it. A stereotype takes on a life of its own which defies even the best efforts to slay it. A New York *Times* story on student reaction to Dean Simpson's appointment, for example, quotes two defenders of Dr. Hutchins, one a girl studying barefoot in Harper Library, the other a bearded student. The risk of ignoring a stereotype depends upon the currency it is likely to achieve among rich alumni and the kind of students the college wishes to attract.

The second, Dean Simpson's, technique, is to turn the stereotype to advantage. The Administrator concedes by sly imputation that it reflects accurately conditions as they existed, but that his presence means a change for the better. Thus, Dean Simpson announces that the College will now stress "beauty and brawn" as well as brains. It will turn out students "free of cant and humbug." And "the ordinary American boy who will only make a million in later life, the ordinary girl who wants a husband as well as a diploma are as welcome here as the Quiz Kid." The risk in this technique is great. The alumni who have had to endure the caricature from without find it especially tiresome and offensive when pronounced from within the College.

Much of what is today regarded as orthodox—farm price supports, for example, are farther removed from orthodoxy than was the College created by Dr. Hutchins. In truth, the College was a throwback to the time when one could use the verb form "to educate" without having to spell out what one meant. It took root in the tradition-honored assumption that a college has enough to do selecting and educating the educable. Body and character building (except insofar as an education provides rational bases for good conduct), and the arrangement of marriages were thought best left to more appropriate agencies, and the free market.

The College was, to be sure, an anachronism. At

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a time when a passable high school transcript could get a student into any number of colleges, the University of Chicago demanded evidence from an applicant that he had the capacity to learn and, before placing him, evidence of how much he had learned. At a time when a student could, by judicious choice of courses and instructors, twiddle his way to a degree, the U. of C. prescribed the courses of instruction and demanded evidence that they had been mastered. (A student who knows what he doesn't know is rare and usually past the need for formal instruction.)

I often wished as a student that the College had been as permissive as it was reputed to be. It is true that in abolishing mandatory classroom attendance it credited some of us with a greater zeal for knowledge than we possessed. But the emphasis on arduous performance rather than upon ritual was sobering; few students could dispense with many of their classes and still hope to obtain a degree. As a practical matter, classes which are voluntary associations conducted by instructors who have no influence over grades are more invigorating and more appealing to the student than the customary kind.

Much has also been made of the fact that a student could enter the College after having been only two years in a high school. The most common practical objection to liberal education today is that there is insufficient time for it, particularly in light of the stress our schools are under to produce graduates with special skills.

This is true but with important qualifications. I wish to call attention to two propositions. First, in our culture the tendency is to prolong adolescence, in many instances indefinitely. Second, the allocation of blocs of time for elementary, high school, college and university, and professional school, has been the result of expediency and irrational historical developments—a crazy-quilt which we have come to accept as part of original creation. . . .

Several years ago, the combined faculties of the leading New England prep schools and Yale, Harvard and Princeton published "The Andover Report." They got at the heart of the problem, but evaded a radical solution, perhaps because it was radical. They picked out as critical the last two years of high school and the first two years of college, and then asked how they could be brought into harmony. Common sense tells us that this will not work as long as it involves separate institutions. The four years between the ages of sixteen and twenty should be spent in the college, in one place, and under one set of administrative controls. The heart of formal instruction in the liberal arts should take place there.

The model for this plan once existed at the University of Chicago. It has since been sacrificed to "orthodoxy" along with most of the "Hutchins reforms." Like Dr. Hutchins, however, I am not "prepared to admit that a serious interest in being educated . . . is necessarily neurotic. It may be in these times in this country somewhat eccentric, but it seems to me an amiable eccentricity, and one that should be encouraged."

EDWARD I. ENGBERG.

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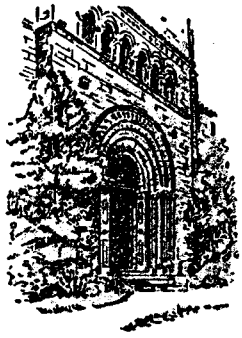

Prospective students should make early application

"THE PROFESSOR'S VOCATION"

Washington, D.C.

TO THE EDITORS: I must say that I found Professor Wilhelmsen's expression of his commitment as a professor ["The Professor's Vocation," June 26] one of the most cogent contributions I have seen for quite some time to the current discussion of educational reform. His plea that he cannot survive if made to "use his subject within the classroom as an instrument," subordinate to the university goals as such, offers some explanation to many of the questions that have long been bothering me about the structure of American undergraduate education. We owe him thanks for speaking up, presumably for his colleagues as well as himself, and insisting on this point, that he feels a compelling necessity to teach his subject for itself and not for the sake of any liberal, wholistic discipline.

Now let me admit a commitment of my own: I am a student. I embrace this unremunerative way of life

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because I think it is possible that some bold Protagoras may be able to teach me the better to think. I am a rational being and no other attractions can compete with the claim that I will be made more rational. After being examined in subjects for ends transcending their respective finalities I see that I am the better person for it. I doubt I will ever be a professor or even "possess the requisite number of initials after my name." But now I am a student and as such feel every bit as much urgency as Professor Wilhelmsen in entering my plea not to be destroyed.

The reason I find it necessary to interject this shrill voice into the discussion is that a student's ontological commitment is to his personal development as an intellectual being rather than the development of a body of knowledge or one of the fields of scholastic endeavor Professor Wilhelmsen feels so strongly about. This end has been in the past quite successfully served by the study of methods rather than the learning of conclusions, training in the skills of the liberal disciplines rather than the parasitic assimilation of the fruits of these disciplines.

The super-departmental approach Professor Wilhelmsen finds so noxious has been traditionally assumed to be necessary if students are to grow into men of prudence in affairs public as well as private. I would only like to remind Professor Wilhelmsen not to be too quick to dismiss this muse from his university. And if he really must, then let him at least seriously consider the wisdom of perhaps some other institution—a modified high school, some would suggest—offering her a dais from which to teach. I think I can sympathize with Professor Wilhelmsen's commitment to profess the past of intellectual greatness; let us not forget that commitment may also lie in making the way smooth for its future.

GAILLARD HUNT.

CORRECTION

Carbondale, Ill.

TO THE EDITORS: I appreciate Marvin Magalaner's reference, in your June 12 issue ["D. H. Lawrence Today"] to my project of editing D. H. Lawrence's collected letters, but he is wrong in one respect: it was not the American Council of Learned Societies that gave me a grant to assist my work on the project, but rather the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, which gave me a Fellowship.

HARRY T. MOORE.

BOOKS

A Tale of Men Trapped in Their Own Darkness

THE CAVE. By Robert Penn Warren. Random House. $4.95.

By SAM HYNES

ALTHOUGH *The Cave* is Robert Penn Warren's sixth novel, he has been, for many people, a one-novel writer. This is true partly because the unquestionable greatness of *All the King's Men* has obscured Warren's other work; but also, I think, because his recent novels have been set in the past, and have therefore been regarded as "historical," and of a lower order of seriousness.

The joker in this is that *All the King's Men* is "historical" in exactly the same way that *World Enough and Time* and *Band of Angels* are historical; in all of his best work Warren has used a sequence of events that really occurred—a war, a crime, a political career—and out of those events has composed a significant pattern, a *myth*. If this is an historical technique, then Aeschylus was writing an historical drama when he wrote the *Oresteia,* and so was Shakespeare when he wrote *Macbeth* (which he cribbed from a history book, after all).

Warren uses history, but the thing he writes is not quite history; it lies half-way between actual event and folk tale, in that area where the popular mind has got hold of the facts, and rubbed the details off, and made them into a symbol of something that matters. It is always American history, and always Southern, but it is what the history of the American South might sound like if it were told us by poets. Warren's beautiful, and rather neglected first novel, *Night Riders,* is like that—a bare, urgent story of a man's brief destiny, historical (the occasion is the Kentucky tobacco wars of the early part of this century), but in the telling timeless. *Brother to Dragons,* his verse play, has the same quality of real events made formal, and in their formality significant; so has his fine long poem, *The Ballad of Billie Potts.*

The Cave is an "historical myth" in the same way. The event, in this case, is the Floyd Collins story, of a hillbilly who got stuck in a cave, and caught a nation's anxious attention. Throughout the novel a man is caught underground; but the novel is not about him, and in fact we never see him at all. It is, rather, about the effect of this dark imprisonment upon the people of his town; upon his father, dying of cancer; his younger brother, in the first confusion of young love; upon the town banker and his family, the Greek restaurant owner, the Baptist minister, and his weak, ambitious son—each person caught in the cave of himself, panicky with the need to escape from the darkness and the loneliness there.

Toward the end of the novel, the banker thinks: "Thousands of people, he didn't know how many, had

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come here because a poor boy had got caught in the ground, and had lain there dying. They had wept, and prayed, and boozed, and sung and fought, and fornicated, and in all ways possible had striven to break through to the heart of the mystery which was themselves. No, . . . to break out of the dark mystery which was themselves."

But there is no breaking out of that dark mystery—one can only confront it, and try to understand it. The end of man, as Warren has repeatedly said in his books, is to know who he is, and to do that one must go into the darkness. Thus Jasper Harrick, the man in the cave, explains to his mother why he explores caves: "Well, in the ground at least a fellow has a chance of knowing who he is." By the end of the novel, some of the characters know who they are, and are free in that knowledge. But others are what they have always been, trapped and ignorant in their own darkness.

The man in the cave, then, is a myth—an old one (Warren uses Plato's myth of the cave as an epigraph to his novel) but still a viable one. But because Warren's version of the myth is also historical—because there *was* a man in a cave once, whose name and fate we remember, though we have forgotten the details—the novel is not limited to the bare symbolical bones of the myth, but can be rich and particular, even earthy, as well. As the story of a dramatic human predicament it is rapid and gripping; but the predicament is, if we ponder it, every man's predicament, and the cave is that darkness which every man must enter, to find himself.

The Saga of Valley Forge

VALLEY FORGE. By Donald Barr Chidsey. Crown. $3.

By JOHN COURNOS

THE MAIN theme of this book is the greatness of Washington as a man. Ostensibly about Valley Forge, it is for the most part an over-all picture of the historical background against which the leader of the American forces had to act to attain victory.

It is a story in which very little action takes place. The stress is on character, and its test of physical and spiritual endurance. This applies equally to General Washington and his men—that is, to those men who stuck it out under a leader they admired and for a cause they believed in, without adequate shelter, clothes and food, during a winter of exceptional severity. Of course, every schoolboy knows this, or should know it, but Mr. Chidsey presents it in vivid, realistic detail. And the story cannot be too often told.

At the time this history of Valley Forge begins, the Continentals had just suffered a severe defeat. They dug in about the middle of December, with General Howe in possession of the national capital, Philadelphia, a bare twenty-odd miles away. The British army was well housed, well armed and well fed, here as also in New York. General Howe found it pleasant in Philadelphia, especially as he had a Mrs. Loring, "a dazzling blonde," to pass his time with, after mollifying her husband, a loyalist, with a job that enabled him to become rich at the expense of the war prisoners whom he starved to death. Mrs. Loring was, in a way, a blessing for the little army in Valley Forge, for her presence in Philadelphia created in General Howe a reluctance to move.

Incidentally, this untimely dalliance became the subject of a song, which provided a little entertainment for the men in Valley Forge, starved not less for amusement than for food. Even Washington, "who seldom even smiled, guffawed," when its author, Francis Hopkinson, sang it to him one night.

During these days Washington had his troubles. There were too many persons in the army and in Congress who thought he was a

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poor sort of general and ought to be replaced, among them such men as John Adams, a man described as "unhappily incapable of seeing conspicuous merit in anyone but himself." Both he and his cousin Sam "had never ceased to regret that hard political necessity had caused them to vote for a Virginian." The anti-Washington cabals were indeed too many to go into here. The conspicuous fact is that Washington begged desperately for supplies to shelter and feed his ill-shod, starving troops, and these appeals too often met with little response. It was Major General Nathanael Greene, "a short pleasant man from Rhode Island," who observed that the people of the United States evidently expected their soldiers to eat air.

Usually maintaining a dignified silence, Washington would at times, in response to unreasonable demands by Congress, reply with force and bitterness. On one occasion he wrote to Congress: "I can assure those Gentlemen that it is much easier and less distressing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room by a good fire than to occupy a bleak hill and sleep under frost and Snow without Cloaths or Blankets."

The lesson of Valley Forge is one which should be impressed on the young of every generation. It is at once a symbol of the greatest kind of courage, and a challenge to despots who would impose their will on freedom-loving peoples. As in his previous *July 4, 1776,* Mr. Chidsey has written an absorbing book and at the same time performed a patriotic service.

A Disturbing Look at British Life

SATURDAY NIGHT AND SUNDAY MORNING. By Alan Sillitoe. Knopf. $3.75.

By THOMAS F. CURLEY

THE TWO parts of this title refer not to night and day but to the way the protagonist, an English workingman in his early twenties, conducts himself. For more than a year, Arthur Seaton lives up his Saturday night. By day he earns fourteen pounds a week at his lathe in a bicycle factory; at night, particularly Friday nights, he drinks deep and plays fast with other men's wives, especially if the bloke works nights. Two of his mottoes are, "It's a great life if you don't weaken" and "Lie until you're blue in the face and you'll always be believed sooner or later." Seaton does not weaken but he does get blue, black and blue, in the face when an irate husband, with a friend along to help, corners him on a lonely street, and beats him up. That ends Arthur Seaton's Saturday Night.

In the Sunday Morning section, "Arthur becomes Doreen's young man," Doreen being *unmarried* but about not to be since Arthur is tall, not bad looking and has a good, steady job. Seaton remains uncontrite though he does advance in caution. In one respect, a deceptive one, that's all there is to the book. Seaton is a lesser Sebastian Dangerfield, the Ginger Man of J. B. Donleavy's book; he lacks Dangerfield's flair for style and, more important, Dangerfield's endurance.

There is, however, a good deal more to Sillitoe's book than Arthur Seaton, his drinking and his whoring. Sillitoe's insight into the quality of working-class life in postwar England is both provocative and discouraging. Seaton himself, his family, his friends and acquaintances are well-fed and well-clothed and are almost completely without culture. Early in the book Seaton thinks: "The difference between before the war and after the war didn't bear thinking about. War was a marvelous thing in some ways, when you thought about how happy it made so many people in England."

This happiness consists of all the cigarettes you can smoke, the price of a pint, a holiday and, most

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important of all, the "telly." Without television there'd be a revolution. Sillitoe's industrial town is made up of people who never go to church, have no use for politics or the monarchy and whose chief interest in the army is to stay out of it by hook or by crook.

"Once a rebel always a rebel. You can't help being one." That is Seaton, and in his Sunday Morning mood, too. He goes on: "But listen, this lathe is my everlasting pal because it gets me thinking, and that's their big mistake because I know I'm not the only one. One day they'll bark and we won't run into a pen like sheep. One day they'll flash their lamps and clap their hands and say: 'Come on, lads. Line-up and get your money. We won't let you starve.' But maybe some of us will want to starve, and that'll be where the trouble'll start."

One could object that this is a first novel by a young man (Mr. Sillitoe was born in 1928) about an even younger man and that the attitude and characters have nothing to do with reality, etc. I don't think so. Arthur Seaton may be a young punk with an overdose of resentment but he is not unrepresentative. He may marry and stop fighting against the rules of love but he remains bound and determined never to give up his fight against Government, and he gives it a capital G.

The great merit of this book is its demonstration of the inadequacy of merely material gains. Seaton considers himself an enemy of the government not because he is starving or suffering grave injustice but because "that bastard government" is trying to grind his face in the muck. He may be wrong but he's not so "durn awful wrong." Compared to Dickens' working class characters, compared even to those of D. H. Lawrence, Sillitoe's people are culturally degenerate. And it should not need stressing that the workers mirror the mores and values of the middle class without the benefit of middle-class hypocrisy.

One can, of course, dismiss such notions as exaggerated or wrong-headed and follow Seaton's hi-jinks with indulgence, concluding with the author of the dust jacket copy that Seaton's encounter "with the quiet, gentle Doreen gives a hint that perhaps this wild and appealing young animal can, after all, be tamed." But I myself would not want to stake too much on this proposition.

REVIEWERS

Sam Hynes, who has contributed frequently to The Commonweal, is a member of the faculty at Swarthmore.

John Cournos is a well-known anthologist and expert on Americana.

Thomas F. Curley, a regular contributor to these pages, is a New York novelist and critic.

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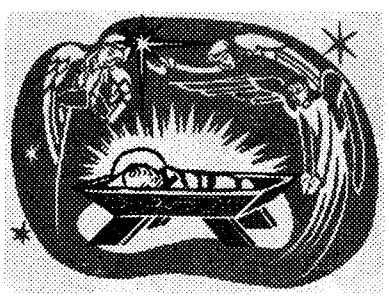

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